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1. The Viet Nam People's Union Association (Hoi Lien-Hiep Quoc-Dan Viet Nam) was created by the Viet Minh in 1946 at a time when their policy was as much as possible one of coalition. In effect, it was intended to encompass three principal groupings, with their various subdivisions:

a. Viet Minh:

Association for Marxist Studies
"Democratic Party"
Socialist Party
Non-partisans and others

b. Quoc Dan Dang-Dong Minh Hoi (QDD-DMH)

c. Independents

The Trotskyites were conspicuously absent.

2. The political affiliations of the signatories at that time were as follows:

a. Viet Minh

(1) Association for Marxist Studies

Pham Van Dong
Nguyen Luong Bang
Vo Nguyen Giap
Tran Huy Lieu
Duong Bach Mai
Ho Chi Minh

(2) "Democratic Party"

Phan Anh
Cu Huy Can
Pham Ngoc Thach
Vu Van Hien (see para. 7)
Vu Dinh Hoe
Duong Duc Hien
Dang Thai Mai

Mme Phan Thanh (see para. 10.)

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(3) President of the National Welfare Association:

Ngo Tu Ha (National Welfare Association of Elders)

(4) Section of the QDD-DMH already in the Viet Minh camp:

Ho Duc Thanh (DMH) (See para. 9)
Chu Ba Phuong (QDD)

(5) Racial Minorities:

Y Ngong (See para. 8)

b. QDD-DMH (opposed to the Viet Minh)

Nguyen Tuong Long
Vu Hong Khanh
Nguyen Tuong Tam

c. Independent:

Nguyen Van Huyen
Huynh Thuc Khanh
Bui Bang Doan
Nguyen Van To
Ton Duc Thang

The affiliations of the other signatory, Ton Quang Phiet, are unknown.

3. The clauses of the Manifesto and of the Program of the Association are pompous and practically meaningless. (See Attachments 1, 2 and 3.) In the Statutes (Att. 3), one of the most interesting and significant clauses is that one dealing with the dependence of each Executive Committee on the Executive Committee of the next higher level. This is one of the most basically important principles of the Indochinese Communist Party. In the Program (Att. 1), the clause "to protect the rights of private property" is of interest.
4. The sole purpose of the Association was to provide a medium by which differences of opinion could be thrashed out and compromises reached before they arrived for open discussion in the National Assembly.
5. The coalition was weighted heavily in favor of the Communist Party and its immediate followers (see para. 2). The members of the true opposition parties (QDD, DMH) who swallowed the bait were later to be disappointed.
6. The Association, though it apparently outlived its usefulness after the escape of Nguyen Tuong Tam and his followers from their honorary positions in the Government to exile in China in the summer of 1946, continued a nominal, although not conspicuous, existence.

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[REDACTED] Comment: It is possible that the Association may re-emerge in the near future for one of two alternative purposes:

- a. It may reappear as a compromise instrument to be used by Ho Chi Minh for union in his probable negotiations with Bao Dai.
- b. If some of Bao Dai's followers, such as Nguyen Tuong Tam, prove too difficult in these negotiations, the Manifesto with Tam's signature may be used as propaganda abroad for showing Tam's betrayal.)

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Comment: The Bulletin of the Viet Nam-American Friendship Association, New York, 25 February 1948 states that "The League for the National Union of Viet Nam, according to a statement by President Ho Chi Minh in August 1947, 'was founded by well-known personalities such as the late Huynh Thuc Khang, Bui Bang Doan etc...and other non-party patriots. Its proposed aim is the realization of the unity of all the people.... The League... aims at independence and national unity...and prosperity and democracy in Viet Nam.'"

The same Bulletin states "The religious groups, fully represented in the Viet Nam Government, have not ceased to support the National Government..., proof of which is the presence of Vietnamese of every faith in the League for National Unity of Viet Nam."

Both "League for the National Union of Viet Nam" and "League for National Unity of Viet Nam" are possible alternate translations of "Hoi Lien-Hiep Quoc-Dan Viet-Nam" which is translated in this report as "Viet Nam People's Union Association".)

Biographical Addenda

7. Vu Van Hien was born about 1908 in Tonkin. He received the degree of "licencié-en-droit" or "docteur-en-droit" from Paris University. He is a lawyer, and a newspaper and magazine writer. He is capable in the legal field, but is not much of a politician. He holds moderate political opinions, and is not a member of the Viet Nam Government. He joined the "Democratic Party" after the Viet Minh established the Viet Nam Government in 1945.

8. Y Ngong. His name indicates that he probably is a representative of one of the racial minorities in Indochina.

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(Comment: The Bulletin mentioned above calls Y Ngong the "Moi Radhe Deputy in the National Assembly".)

9. Ho Duc Thanh was born about 1900 in Tonkin, and was a member of the "old" Quoc Dan Dang which went into exile in China after 1930. He probably received military training at Whampoa Academy in Canton. He became an officer (major or colonel) in the Chinese Army and affiliated himself with Nguyen Hai Than's Dong Minh Hoi (DMH) in China. He returned to Indochina in 1945 with the Chinese occupation troops. He appears to have been sincere in throwing in his lot with the Viet Minh, and still claims to represent the Dong Minh Hoi within the Viet Minh, but he has been repudiated by Nguyen Tuong Tam and Nguyen Hai Than. He is more of a military man than a politician. He appears to have the confidence of the Viet Minh and it is believed that he was, in 1947, sent by them to Kwantung on a mission to purchase arms.

10. Mme Phan Thanh is the widow of Phan Thanh, who was formerly a professor at Thang-Long School, at which Vo Nguyen Giap and Dang Thai Mai were also professors. He was a member of the SFIO (Socialist Party) and died in 1938, much revered by his pupils and the working classes. Mme Phan Thanh was born at Hue about 1912, and also taught at the Thang-Long School. After 1945 she became the Commissioner of Education in the Annam Executive Committee. As such, she occupied the most important post ever accorded a woman in the Viet Nam Government. (There are no women in the Central Government of Viet Nam; the only other one to have a position on an Executive Committee for a Ky was Mme (Doctor) Ho Vinh Ky, member of the Cochinchina Executive Committee in 1945, later killed by Tran Van Giau.)

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